

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4711

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DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS IMMEDIATE INFO LUANDA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO, AO

SUBJ: ANGOLAN CONTINGENCY PLANNING: VIEW FROM LISBON

REF: STATE 247557

1. THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS OF THE ANGOLA POST INDEPENDENCE RECOGNITION QUESTION ON WHICH EMBASSY LISBON CAN USEFULLY COMMENT: (A) GOP PLANS FOR THE TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY; AND (B) EFFECTS ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL OF THE RECOGNITION QUESTION.

2. TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY: THE GOP IS ANXIOUS TO GET OUT OF ANGOLA. LISBON WISHES TO COMPLY WITH THE NOVEMBER 11 COMMITMENT AND KEEP ITS RECORD OF HAVING MET ALL DECOLONIZATION DEADLINES. THE GOP BELIEVES IT CANNOT SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCE EVENTS IN ANGOLA, AND ALSO BELIEVES THAT THE LONGER IT REMAINS THE MORE LIKELY IT IS TO BE BLAMED FOR OUTCOMES OVER WHICH IT HAS NO CONTROL. FINALLY, THE AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT HAS ITS HANDS MORE THAN FULL WITH PROBLEMS AT HOME AND WOULD LIKE TO CONCENTRATE ITS EFFORTS HERE. THE ANGOLAN ISSUE EXACERBATES DOMESTIC FRICTIONS AS LONG AS ANGOLA IS A COLONY. THUS, POSTPONING THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE IS NOT AN ATTRACTIVE OPTION FOR THE GOP.

3. GOP POLICY, THEN, IS TO GET OUT OF ANGOLA AS GRACEFULLY AS POSSIBLE. MPLA CONTROL OF THE CAPITAL COULD TEMPT LISBON SIMPLY

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TO HAND OVER POWER TO THAT MOVEMENT, AND THE PCP IS PRESSING FOR

SUCH AN ACTION. THIS, HOWEVER. WOULD HAVE A DIVISIVE EFFECT IN THE METROPOLE. MELO ANTUNES AND THE "NINE" ARE OPPOSED TO A TURNOVER TO THE MPLA. STRONG REPRESENTATIONS BY USG AGAINST GOP ASSISTANCE TO MPLA HAVE BEEN TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY THE GOVERNMENT, AND HAVE PROBABLY HELPED MOVE GOP TO SEEK OTHER ALTERNATIVES. THEREFORE, GOP WOULD LIKE TO NEGOTIATE A TRANSFER OF POWER TO A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT COMPOSED OF THE THREE MOVEMENTS ALONG THE SAME LINES AS THE ALVOR ACCORDS AND THE KAMPLA AGREEMENT. GOP IS UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO BRING TOGETHER SUCH A GOVERNMENT AND WILL PROBABLY SETTLE FOR ANY ARRANGEMENT, HOWEVER TEMPORARY AND PERHAPS FICTITIOUS, TO WHICH IT CAN PLAUSIBLY TRANSFER POWER. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT GOP MAY BE WILLING TO SETTLE FOR ANY COMBINATION OF TWO OF THE MOVEMENTS. GOP, AS OF NOW IS PLAYING SITUATION BY EAR--ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF EXPECTED FNLA ATTEMPT TO TAKE, OR CREDIBLY CONTEST, CONTROL OF LUANDA BEFORE NOVEMBER 11.

4. EFFECT ON BILATERAL RELATIONS: GOP ANGOLAN POLICY IS CONDITIONED BY ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT'S DREAM OF BECOMING THE LINK BETWEEN THE THIRD WORLD (ESPECIALLY AFRICA) AND EUROPE. GOP IS WILLING TO GO QUITE FAR IN ORDER TO INGRATiate ITSELF WITH THE ANGOLANS. OAU AND MANY IMPORTANT AND VOCAL AFRICAN NATIONS, LIKE ALGERIA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA ARE PERCEIVED BY PORTUGUESE AS FAVORING MPLA. GOP DOES NOT WISH TO HARM ITS RELATIONS WITH THESE NATIONS AND WILL FEEL UNDER PRESSURE TO FOLLOW THESE NATIONS IN RECOGNIZING MPLA AFTER INDEPENDENCE, EVEN IF HANDOVER IS MADE TO A BODY INCLUDING ONE OR BOTH OF THE OTHER MOVEMENTS. IF, AS ALL EXPECT, THE QUESTION OF WHO CONTROLS ANGOLA WILL BE RESOLVED BY A CIVIL WAR AMONG THE MOVEMENTS, PORTUGAL WILL BE CAUGHT BETWEEN US HOSTILITY TO THE MPLA AND THE EFFORTS OF THE PCP AND AFRICAN SUPPORTERS OF MPLA TO GIVE THEIR FAVORED MOVEMENT THE BENEFITS OF RECOGNITION.

5. SPECIFICALLY RE QUESTIONS IN PARA 2 REFTEL OUR VIEWS ARE:
(A) USG SHOULD NOT RECOGNIZE ANY GROUP; (B) USG SHOULD NOT RECOGNIZE SINGLE FNLA/UNITA GOVERNMENT UNLESS AND UNTIL IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT SUCH GOVERNMENT CAN ESTABLISH CONTROL IN ANGOLA. ABOVE ANSWERS ASSUME USG WILL BE PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO ANTI-MPLA MOVEMENT (S). ALSO ASSUME THAT GOP WILL HESITATE AND NOT RUSH TO RECOGNIZE MPLA AS LONG AS FNLA AND UNITA,
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EITHER SINGLY OR TOGETHER, ARE VIABLE ALTERNATIVES.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT REPATING TO LISBON LUANDA'S REPLY TO REFTEL.
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